2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

of their lands, which have been attacked by the Turks. Venice, assured of their "fame, probity, and virtues," confirms them in possession of their farms, goods, and all things in the said districts. Venice, in truth, was glad of any tribe that would be a buffer between the Turks and Scutari. The tribe was, I was told, "very old." It numbered 160 houses when I was there.

5. *Summa.*—A mainly Catholic tribe on the right bank of the Kiri. The name occurs in a document of Tsar Dushan, who in 1335 gives to the monastery of Dechani, among other districts, "the Albanian Katun, Tuzi," along with a number of luckless Albanians who are named; "Petrus Suma, Mataguzh (the village of Matagushi was burnt by the Montenegrins in 1912) with his brothers Laz and Prijezda . . . Progon Mira, Marcus Suma, etc." The present Suma tribe states that it comes from Mirdita. But as the Mirdites do not seem to have arrived till early in the fifteenth century, the "Suma" referred to in 1335 must be the elder population. All the above tribes are included in the diocese of Pulati.

THE MIRDITE GROUP

The Mirdite tribe is the largest of all. It is wholly Catholic. When I was there (1908) it was reckoned as some three thousand houses with an average of ten to a house. It had then an ecclesiastical head—the mitred abbot, Premi Dochi, whose title was derived from a Benedictine abbey, which existed near Oroshi formerly.

It had an hereditary chief, Prenk, son of Bib Doda. The abbot was one of the most remarkable men Albania has produced. His death, near the close of the Great War, has been an irreparable loss; and the death of Prenk Bib Doda, who was killed in a blood feud soon after, deprived the Mirdites of, at any rate, a picturesque figurehead. He left no son, and his next heir, a cousin, Mark Ghoni, displayed such cowardice in 1914, when he fled from the front and said he had come "to fetch vaseline to clean the rifles," that he lost all chance of chieftainship. Poor old Prenk realized that the days of chiefs were passed, and left his property to the Mirdite tribe and not to his relatives, for none, he said, were worthy of leadership. Thus ended the quasi-independence of Mirdita. The tribe consists of five bairaks. The three original ones, Oroshi, Spachi, and Kusneni, trace origin from the brother of the Shala-Shoshi brethren who said "Mir dit" and went off. Being consanguineous, these three bairaks do not intermarry, nor do they marry Shala or Shoshi. The two other bairaks are Fandi, which tells that it formerly was part of the Luria group, but joined the Mirdites when Ljuma turned Moslem (? eighteenth century), and Dibri, which

beliefs and rites one can hardly doubt. As is well known, the gods of the heathens became the devils of the Christians.

776 777 Marko was greatly afraid of Beelzebub and mentioned him with a curse and a whisper. Belial and Beelzebub were supposed to be the most active. The tribesman followed the advice of his priest and put [304] a cross on his house and tattooed himself with a cross, but he further protected himself with more ancient signs; he planted the skulls of horses, goats, and oxen on poles round his house and fields. Some houses had rows of skulls. I wondered whether, in old days, human ones had figured there, too.

The horse-skull was most valued not only in Albania, but also in Bosnia and in Montenegro. Where civilization has penetrated the horse-skull was often replaced by a twisted petroleum tin whitewashed. Short-sighted devils, seeing it from a distance, could easily have mistaken it for the real thing and fought shy.

[793] Priests are but human. I found one Catholic priest had a whole array of horse- and other skulls round his beehives. He laughed it off when I remarked on it, and added that bees were very liable to disease. He evidently wanted to be on the safe side.

754 I often found in the mountains a distinct fear of being drawn, or "written," as they always called it. At Vraka I asked if I might draw the interior of a house. The woman was doubtful. She at last said I was not to "write" her or her children, and, to make sure, she drove the children out of the house. In Luria I was told not to "write" anyone or any house. At Lohja was a wonderful old man, who was reputed to be 110, who boasted that he had sinned but twice in his life—and then it was not his fault. Men in plenty he had killed, but never dishonourably or for money. The company suggested that I should "write" him. Much flattered, the old man sat still for a while, but when everyone shouted that the sketch was exactly like him, he became greatly alarmed, and earnestly begged me never to destroy what I had "written" about him, for at the moment it was torn he would drop down dead. I preserved the sketch, and five years later found him still going strong.

754 787 At Seltzi, in the Klimenti tribe, I was told the best way to detect a shtriga is to keep the bones of the pig you ate on the last day of Carnival. All through the Balkans the pig, abhorred by Turk and Jew, is a sign of Christianity. On Easter Day you make a cross with the pig's bones and tie it on the church door when the church is full of people. If any shtrigas are in the church they cannot get out except carried on the shoulders of the man who made the cross. They run 754 wildly round and round and can be caught.

681 There was, so far as I could learn, no traditional punishment for a

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

the first time. The morning broke cold and grey; a steady downpour of rain fell from an angry sky. The waters of Mati and Fani rose before our eyes; and the old mountaineer who was our host warned us that the rivers would soon become impassable. The night again brought rumours of a Partisan advance, and next day we decided to cross the valley, hoping that the flood which might still allow our passage would rise behind us to bar the way to our pursuers. We set out from the fortress at dusk and successfully negotiated the two rivers, which already ran breast-high at the fords. Lights were burning in the enemy block-house, but, though their sudden extinction made us fear that we had been observed, no attempt was made to dispute our crossing of the road. Beyond it we entered a narrow ravine, and, after an hour's march, were received into the poor but hospitable village of Rasfik.

Next day we continued the march northwards, and, on the last evening of September, halted in a small village set on the southern shoulder of Mount Velyes, the broad, grey pyramid of rock which rises five thousand feet above the ancient city of Llesh. Llesh itself was hidden from us by a fold in the ground, but from a neighbouring height we could see the ruins of the castle where Skanderbeg expired, brooding over the defection of his Western Allies and the triumph of the Orient. Beyond, the broad belt of the coastal plain dissolved through stagnant lagoons into the living sea. Velyes was in Mirdita, but, with much courtesy and a few pieces of our gold, the General won the alliance of the local *Bairaktars*. Jon Marko Joni's friendship was more uncertain, but, in the common distress, he too gave his consent to our sojourn in his territory.

Our host in Velyes was the village priest, a kindly fellow who placed his rambling house at our disposal and tolerantly invited our Moslem Turkomans to sleep and shelter in his church. He too had once come out from Scutari burning with zeal to reform the manners of the mountaineers. But twenty years had passed since then; and now he contented himself with the little luxuries of tribal life, using his slender influence to help his friends, or foster the temporal interests of the Roman cause. Once I attended a service in his church: a low, stone

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

793 barn, decorated only by a crude, wooden cross, erected on a bare altar of rough stones. At the door one of the congregation stood guard over the rifles of his fellows, but each of us retained his pistol or his knife.

[771] For the Mirdites, Christianity is, above all, an expression of nationalism; and the elevation of the Host that day appeared to me less as an act of faith than as a gesture of defiance against the foreign invader marching under the banner yesterday of Islam, now of Communism.

4

669 648 WHEN Maclean had seen that our Headquarters were inflexibly set on his recall, he had asked that a boat be sent to embark him from the coast between the estuaries of the Mati and the Drin. The staff officers in Bari, however, refused this request and ordered him instead to hand himself over to the Partisans for evacuation through Southern Albania. In explanation they alleged difficulties with the Navy; but, as we suspected at the time and later verified, their real and puerile design was to prove to Enver Hoja that Maclean and Smiley had really been withdrawn. We saw at once that in the eyes of the Albanians Maclean's departure to the camp of the L.N.C. must impose an intolerable humiliation on Abas Kupi. We also feared that Enver Hoja's attitude towards our Mission might make such a journey as dangerous as it would be dishonourable.

We therefore multiplied excuses for delay, making much of the difficulties of travel while the rivers were in spate, and discovering objections to each rendezvous which our Headquarters proposed. Such stratagems served for a time, but orders from Bari grew increasingly peremptory; and Maclean had just decided that he could procrastinate no longer when suddenly an urgent telegram from Headquarters countermanded all previous instructions. As we were later to learn, a commissar had spoken out of turn at the L.N.C. Divisional Headquarters, and the British liaison officers had thus discovered

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGI Albania EGI

power by modern governments. The value of the difference to the servant was that the more important his master, the better he himself was protected.

It is the rule in all denominations that priests may not carry arms. This is no drawback to anybody under a modern administration, but in Turkish times it meant that a priest's servant was more exposed to danger than an armed layman's. The Catholic church tried to make up for the deficiency by special legislation of which Father Gjeçov gives a full account. Thus, though a priest's servant had a certain freedom to attend to his own business, any message he carried to a house was treated as coming from the priest. Whoever molested him molested the priest, and might be fined according to the gravity of the offence but not less than ten lambs, which went, not to the servant, but to the church and tribe. Whoever killed the servant started a feud with his family only, if the servant were local, but with the whole parish if he were a stranger—here can be recognized the principle of the community's guest—and if the murderer was local, the parish burned his house and took a hundred lambs and an ox from him as fine. If labourers hired by the church were molested, the offender had to pay a fine, divisible between them and the church; the more numerous they were, the heavier the fine; on an average this amounted to ten lambs. If an offender refused to pay, the parish went in a body and took what it wanted from his sheepfold. In short, the church treated any wrong to a defenceless priest's servant as a major crime.

The retainers of great men were essentially a bodyguard, and were only maintained by men with blood feuds. Some lived at home and joined their patron for some special, and usually brief, occasion; others lived for long periods with him, constantly ready for whatever service he might ask. They occasionally received a gold piece as reward; more often they were paid in kind—by being lent money without interest for a funeral or a wedding feast, by being given grain in bad years, by having a useful word said in the ear of the authorities to extract them from some difficulty. While his own children were small, the Hereditary Captain of Mirditë had eight young relatives living permanently with him, brief holidays at home excepted. They waited at meals or carried messages to the servants with the lofty air of medieval pages of noble blood. Until exiled during the war of 1939–45, Shevqet Vërlaci, the formidable Bey of Elbasan, was guarded night and day by relays of peasants

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

231 683 A stranger who was bitten by a shooting dog could neither kill it nor claim compensation for his wound. Indeed, he became a public butt for being feckless enough to let himself be bitten by so tame an animal.

231 685 If a stranger killed a shooting dog by mischance, he must compensate the master in money—two napoleons were thought adequate in most places. Alternatively, he must give him another dog as good as the one he had killed. The hour of the crime was immaterial.

224 628 If a shooting dog was killed from motives of spite, a feud followed as in the case of house and sheep dogs.

If a shooting dog put up a hare, only its master had the right to take the hare. It might be that the chase was long and that the hare was shot by a stranger before the dog's master caught it up. In that case the latter demanded the hare and offered the stranger a fresh cartridge in return for the one he had just expended. If the offer was refused a blood feud started, the first shot being fired by the stranger.

If two men went shooting with only one dog, they skinned the hares at the end of the day and divided them equally.

231 Pet dogs, like shooting dogs, were free of the house as well as the farmyard and ran loose day and night. Of indeterminate pedigree, they were about the size of small Aberdeens. They were not common in northern Albania, where their only purpose was to divert their master—it was thought great fun to hang a lighted cigarette round their necks. In central Albania where the average flock was small and always had a shepherd, they were much prized as watchdogs. They never failed at either house or sheepfold to bark warningly when unwelcome visitors approached. They were so brave that at sheepfolds they could dash out and tackle a marauding wolf, invariably losing their life in the unequal combat. On account of their usefulness their value was high, as much as six or seven napoleons.

The law when they killed (a virtually impossible contingency) or were killed was the same as it was for shooting dogs.

231 793 A few isolated rules remain to be mentioned. Clerics such as priests among Catholics or Orthodox or hoxhas and sheikhs among Mohammedans were forbidden to keep house dogs. Their houses must be open day and night to their parishioners or passing strangers and might not be closed by dogs. If they kept sheep dogs

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

they must not bring them home, but must leave them at the more or less distant sheepfold. There was no ban on their keeping shooting and pet dogs.

If a house dog disappeared temporarily during the mating season so that its master could not find it at dawn to tie it up for the day, he remained responsible for its conduct. It was held that a house dog loose under such conditions during the daytime was like one that had been duly tied up but had broken loose. Happily for its master and for strangers, a dog was generally too much occupied at such seasons with its own affairs to trouble about strangers.

If any type of dog fell into a snare set by a neighbour near its master's house, the neighbour must pay its full value. He had no doubt obtained its master's consent before he set the snare, but that did not relieve him of his liability for ensuing casualties.

Damage done by dogs must be paid for in money or by the dog's death. Each case was handled with a good deal of ceremony. If a dog ate a neighbour's eggs or killed his fowls, the latter asked its master to tie it up. If he refused, the neighbour had the right to kill the dog, and its master could not exact compensation. The neighbour generally took an oath in public that the dog had developed a habit of eating his eggs or killing his fowls, and that he had asked its master to tie it up and had been told to kill it. If he killed the dog without warning, he must in most places pay its value as assessed by the local elders. But in that case its master must first take oath that it had never eaten eggs or killed fowls. If the dog was commonly considered valuable, the neighbour would probably warn its master twice before he killed it. In Çermenikë and Martanesh the law was sterner; a delinquent dog had always to be killed, but if this were done without its master's leave, a blood feud started. In such cases the culprit was generally a house dog.

In cases of sheep-worrying the culprit was invariably a sheep dog. The general verdict was that the animal must die, but there was some variation in local methods of reaching this verdict. In north Albania and in Yugoslav Kosovë the dog's master must indemnify the sheep owner for every sheep worried and must take oath that the dog acted of its own impulse and had not been specially trained to kill sheep; any proof that it had been so trained would immediately cause him to be killed by the sheep owner. He must also kill the dog or keep it chained up in perpetuity. If the

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

here and there. After the introduction of modern codes of justice they had little chance to emerge.

Above all elders, in both Mirditë and the adjacent tribes, came the Gjomarkaj family. This family was regarded as the source of all knowledge of the mountain law and represented the final court of appeal. The villagers of Martanesh carried many of their graver troubles to its head, but at the same time had often a 'special elder' whom they consulted in such cases. Selim Peshku, who died about 1910, was the latest example. The tree under which he sat dispensing justice in Martanesh is still shown. In the north the bishop or a specially gifted priest was the ultimate referee. They were consulted not so much for their knowledge of the law but because of their reputation for probity.

Functionally the brotherhood elders of Mirditë were represented in the Malësi e Madhe by the 'ward elders', who ruled and judged in their own small community, the village ward in which they lived. They were more commonly called *gjobtarë* ('fine-collectors') from their primary function of collecting fines. As legal functionaries they resembled specialist elders rather than brotherhood elders because they were ordinary tribesmen and owed their position as elders, not to hereditary right, but to special appointment. They were selected, however, not by the public like the specialists, but by the local bajraktar or voivode. On taking up an appointment to judge or arbitrate they were known as 'soul elders', on account of the solemn phrases with which they were commissioned. The commissioning bajraktar or voivode first asked, 'Do you pledge your souls, elders, that it was so?' On receiving their assent he laid a stone on the ground before them, saying, 'With body and soul, with a stone in front of you and with God's justice set these two people straight in any way that you can see'. It goes without saying that only upright men were willing or were asked to accept a charge laden with such danger to their soul after death. These northern ward elders had no connexion with the ward elders of Godolesh near Elbasan, who were seven in number for the six wards (mëhallë), all subordinate to the paid non-hereditary headman and his two assistants.

Another functional type, which was most important for the repression of crime and was found everywhere, was constituted by 'juror elders'. When trying a case, the judging elders might decide to make one of the disputants take an oath that he was not guilty.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

is to say, no interested motive for his opinion, he was actually encouraged to express his views. Among the Catholics of the far north the priest was permitted to speak, as though he were one of the tribesmen, but his views did not necessarily prevail.

It was unthinkable, of course, that the tribesmen should come without their arms in view of possible dangers on the way. So the law said explicitly that they might bring them. But as soon as they took their places cross-legged on the ground they had to lay their guns on the grass in front of them or on their laps and had to keep them so until the meeting ended. The Catholics sometimes let the priest coax them into depositing their arms in the church house for the duration of the meeting. If anyone raised his gun in anger, it was promptly taken from him by his neighbours. If anyone fired his gun the rest of the meeting immediately formed itself into a firing squad and killed him, and then went in a body to his house and burned it down. Even at the smallest meeting there were four or five important men present who kept a sharp look-out ready to prevent trouble. The priests too kept good watch, and a Franciscan found in Theth by Miss Durham in 1908 told the following story: 'We nearly had a row at the *mexhlis*[1] a little while ago. . . I heard a fearful noise and as I ran out a lot of them got up into a bunch like bees and raised their rifles. They were just going to fire. They would not listen to me. I rushed into the church and rang the bell as hard as I could. It had a splendid effect. As soon as they heard the bell, from habit they all shoved their pistols into their belts and took their guns in their left hands and began to cross themselves. No one knew what had happened. They poured into the church to see. By the time we came out again. . . they were quieted.'

Proceedings usually began with a statement by the president that the tribe had assembled to consider certain matters in the manner required by God and the canon, that is to say, with justice and without innovations or departures from the established law. Great importance was attached to the latter point. The decisions of specialist elders were accepted only on condition that they conformed to the accepted law and did not constitute innovations. This proviso was thought unnecessary in the case of elders who had been bred to the law as the specialists had not, and were therefore trusted to stick to it. This conservatism maintained the strength of the law, the main factor in keeping the tribe together.

[1] General Assembly.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

682 The following story told by Miss Durham[1] throws light upon
628 the mind of a tribe on this point:

In the spring of 1908 a tribesman of Gjan, quarrelling with a tribesman of neighbouring Shosh, snatched a firebrand from the hearth and flung it in his face. It would have been bad enough to kill the man of Shosh, but it was worse to insult him with such a blow. The Gjan man, fearing the wrath to come, fled with all speed. The Shosh man was so enraged that, unable to catch the actual culprit and clear his honour by shooting him, he went to Gjan and shot 'an unhappy little boy, unarmed and but eight years old'...'whose only crime was that he belonged to the same tribe as the offender'...'Gjan was filled with rage. That Shosh had the right to take blood of any man of the tribe they freely admitted, but to kill a child was dishonourable.' On the following Whit Sunday a General Assembly of Shosh met to debate the case. 'Shosh was violently indignant over the affair and public opinion ran so high that the murderer had not dared to remain in the tribe but had fled. The *Mexhlis* now was held to decide whether his house should be burnt as punishment. Many were in favour of this. The difficulty was that there was no law under which this could be done. The blood had been taken *outside* the tribe; it was therefore not a crime against the tribe and not punishable by it. The duty of vengeance lay with the dead boy's family. All agreed that if they liked to come and fire the house Shosh would not oppose it. But as the near relatives were a crippled father and a child they were incapable of executing justice in the face of the opposition which would certainly be put up by the murderer's family. The question caused great excitement. The burning of the house would entail passing a new law to punish a man for a crime against another tribe. This would mean an entire reconstruction of the code and nothing less than considering themselves as a nation, and not as detached tribes.' Miss Durham asked 'whether it were not possible at least to pass a law to punish any man killing a child not of age to bear arms'. It was pointed out that if Shosh did so and neighbour tribes did not, Shosh would be at a disadvantage.... The question was discussed for two days, and was undecided when Miss Durham left.

793 Proceedings at a General Assembly terminated in Catholic areas
212 with the drawing up of minutes by the priest, the only man present

[1] See *Some Tribal Origins* etc., p. 165.

[i.e. a ban on introducing innovations in tribal law --Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

who could write. Though strictly speaking a stranger, he was expected by every tribe, Mirditë included, to attend all its meetings and to act as clerk. Sometimes each man present, sometimes only the president, appended his mark, generally a Turkish seal, to the document. The priest signed as witness, added the date and place, and placed it in the church archives for safe keeping and future reference.

773
212
634
[217]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

(Godolesh and Lumë). The first two phrases are evidently old Albanian and have nothing exclusively Moslem about them; the second (lit. 'May I see God') has even a Catholic ring. The third is widely known all over the Moslem world and in certain areas which were once under Moslem rule. But it is used in a magical rather than a religious sense. It is found in magical formulae among the Arabs of Egypt and the Christian Greeks of the island of Zea, next door neighbour to Euboea.[1]

The only invocation of the Deity which the author recorded among the Orthodox was in Shpat and ran as follows: 'By that Christ in Whom we believe.' It is evidently a Church formula.

There was no sign that any of these oaths was preferred to the others; they seemed to have equal value. Readers who know the Catholics and the Orthodox, the two religions which divided Albania before the Turks came in the fifteenth century, will be struck by the paucity of references to Christ and the Virgin Mary and by the emphasis on God; this may be a further indication that the oaths go back to pagan days when neither Christ nor the Virgin was known.

Formulae for invoking Catholic saints were such as 'By that St Nicolas' in Kurbin and 'By the candle of St Nicolas' among the Highlanders of Breg i Matit and Gurrëzë. Both were very grave oaths. The candle in the second is the wax taper lit before pictures of the saint by the devout; oath-takers seem to have feared that perjury would extinguish the flame of their life as easily as a candle could be put out. Of all their saints too, the Catholic Highlanders preferred St Nicolas. No Moslem saints were invoked as such; it was rather by their graves than themselves that oaths were taken. A strange oath, which comes from Surroj, was an exception. This ran 'By this patron saint of coffee'. Coffee, the peasants of Surroj explained, has a 'very important' patron saint. All over Albania coffee-house keepers make a libation to him every morning by pouring away the first cup of coffee that they make. They hope that after being placated in this way the saint will send them many customers. Some believe that he lies buried somewhere in the east of the Turkish empire, possibly in Arabia.

Catholic priests and Moslem clergymen—hoxhas and sheikhs among the Sunnis, abbots (*baba*, sing.; *baballar*, plur.) among the Bektashis—were respected as men of God, and Bektashi abbots

[1] See *Folklore*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 195 (June 1926).

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

695 even became saints at their death, but an oath 'by the priest' or
698 'by that hoxha' was never taken; it would have been regarded as
793 sacrilege.

695 A most interesting oath was taken by both the Orthodox and the
792 Moslems of Berat town and district. Its commonest forms were
[779] 'By Him of Tomorr' and 'By the Holy One of Tomorr'. The deity that dwelt in pagan days on the summit of Tomorr, the lofty, beautiful mountain that dominates the town of Berat, is still a living force in the district. He was, indeed, so dreaded that even in conversation he could not be named, but only darkly alluded to. 'By that mountain top' is no less solemn an oath than the more definite pair already given. No man had been known to swear any of them falsely.

[821] By what was perhaps a survival of early nature worship, oath-takers sometimes invoked natural objects as in the oaths, 'By this bright light which is dawning', 'By this evening which is coming', 'By this night we have to-night'. These were all given by Catholics in Perlat. The first two were used for oaths taken in the morning and the third for those taken in the evening. Moslems in Godolesh and Labinot sometimes swore 'By this sun' and 'By this earth'. The latter was a very solemn oath, earth being weighty for two reasons: man was made of it and it lies heavy on a dead man who committed sins such as perjury during his lifetime. Apparently oaths were not taken 'by this fire' or 'by this moon'; perhaps both fire and moon lack the inevitability and stability that fitted dawn and darkness, the sun and the earth, for worship by primitive Albanians.

695 Among oaths by sacred buildings were such as 'By this church'
782 among Catholics and 'By this mosque' among Moslems. They were
778 chiefly employed conversationally, and meant little more than our own expression 'on my honour'. Indeed, a man of Lurë used them indifferently, irrespective of whether he or his hearer were Catholic or Moslem. But when a Moslem of Martanesh swore 'by this holy place' as he stood in Balim Sulltan's mausoleum, his oath was very solemn. So, too, were the oaths in Bulqizë 'by that shrine', the domed tomb of Sheikh Fejza; in Tirana by the grave of Sulejman Pasha, the seventeenth-century founder of the town; in Krujë by the tombs of two Bektashi abbots; in Nangë, Lumë, by the tomb of the Khalveti saint, Sheikh Hasan; and in Surroj, by the grave of Sheikh Hasan's brother, Sheikh Ibrahim. In the last case the formula was rather unusual; standing in the mausoleum (*teqe*) the

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

628 and would have a feud with the owner. If, after this warning, the 682 neighbour saw the avenger trying to kill his enemy on his land, he shot at him, and if he killed him, he had no feud, for he had forbidden him to raise his rifle on his land.

628 Religious influences also were brought to bear on the two 793 enemies. The Bojdani sheikh of Bicaj in Lumë often intervened when there was shooting, both before and after the murder was committed; telling both parties they were in the wrong, he induced them to make peace. There is no record known to the author of an Orthodox priest acquiring influence enough to end a feud, and a Roman Catholic parish priest, though not ridiculed by his flock as his Orthodox brother too often was, had no power to curse people who kept up blood feuds, and without such power he could not compose a feud. Even a bishop was powerless in such cases. Jesuits, on the other hand, had the power and on occasion exercised it; it is commonly believed to this day that they are sent by the Pope and they are correspondingly feared. Every ten years or so, summoned by the archbishop or the priest in charge, at the instance of the village, they toured the Roman Catholic districts, their main object being to compose blood feuds. In 1932 three priests went to Shkrel for the best part of a week. Due warning of their advent had been given, and all devout Roman Catholics were 783 bidden to attend church every day. Banners depicting the flames of hell and the crimes which earned them were hung round the church and the sermons were in the same strain. On the second day these placed emphasis on the privileged position of Roman Catholics; in return for this good Catholics should settle their blood feuds rather than risk losing the blessing of the church for themselves and their families during their lifetime and after it burial in consecrated ground. On the third day the priests inveighed against keeping up grudges; those who cherished their blood feuds risked the curse of God. This meant that nothing would go right for them. They would be shunned by everyone—an engaged girl could not marry with the blessing of the Church, but only by civil marriage—if indeed her betrothed did not prefer to give her up, although this meant losing her bride-price. On this occasion in Shkrel the vehemence of the priests' exhortations and the fear of the consequences of the curse resulted in the termination of several outstanding feuds.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Balkan Peoples E13
Serbs EF6

Gospels. In Serbian these are called "Zapis." They are enclosed in silver cases called by the Turkish word "hamaljija" both by Serbs and Albanians; or they are sewn up in leather. Such leather cases are usually triangular. Most of the Catholic women of Zadrima, Albania, wore two brass crucifixes on a chain and a leathern triangular amulet case. Such cases are often fixed to the horns of oxen. When a Christian finds a Christian "writing" has done no good, he will go on the sly to beg one from a Moslem, and vice versa.

Priests, both Orthodox and Catholic, write an immense number of amulets, fold the paper neatly in a triangle, thread it on a string, and direct that it shall be tied over the spot where the pain is felt; and peasants will tramp many miles in search of this help. At Ochrida, where I had to examine the patients before the doctor saw them, I came across an up-to-date development of this treatment. A child was brought with his neck thickly swathed. When the wrappings were off, his neck was an alarming dull purple, as though horribly contused. The amulet had been written in copying ink and had come off on his skin! The mother fondly hoped its magic had soaked in.

In both Albania and Montenegro I have seen Moslems flock to a church or a well-known Christian shrine in search of a cure. At the Orthodox Church of the Holy Trinity, on the festival day at Plevlje, I saw two Turkish gendarmes bring in a lunatic with his arms tied behind him and lay him in front of the altar during service in order that he might be cured.

Several thousand peasants, Orthodox, Catholic, and Moslem, used to crowd on Trinity Sunday to the shrine of St. Vasil of Ostrog in Montenegro—a purely Montenegrin saint. The shrine of another local saint at the Piperski monastery is also in great repute. The best way to obtain a cure is to pass the night lying on the ground, with the head beneath the coffin, holding the relics. For this privilege a high fee was asked. At Ostrog I was told that a Moslem stricken with paralysis had been brought from Mostar on a mule, and had paid twenty-five napoleons to pass the night thus. Next day he was well and returned home happy. But he was an unbelieving Moslem, and soon declared he did not believe the saint had cured him: he had got well of himself. Next morning he awoke again paralysed, and the twenty-five napoleons were under his pillow. The saint withdrew the cure and returned the fee.

An amulet with a good writing on it works good; but evil writing can in the same way work evil.

While I was in Scutari a Turkish officer fell in love with a Catholic girl. He acted honourably and asked her hand of her parents. To their horror the girl not only wished to marry him, but she went to the

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2

H 538 554 302 And so they follow on, each matching his horse to his immense moustache. As Krsto used to say with a sigh, "One does not see such sights nowadays."

H 764 It is noteworthy that the warriors carved on the mediæval gravestones of Bosnia show no hair either on face or head. The work is very rude and shows no features either (Fig. 22).

A 302 In Albania, too, the moustache is very precious. My old friend Marko cherished a fine one. When he was young he declared he could easily tie its ends behind his head—the true test, he said, for a moustache.

A 776 554 In the fairy tales he used to tell, the villain was a "Choeé," a hairless man. They were always abominably wicked, he said. The British Navy lost its prestige when clean-shaven officers appeared in Scutari in 1913.

A 302 293 554 When Marko was young and his moustache in its prime, he was kavass to the Turkish Embassy in Vienna, wore a gold-embroidered Albanian dress, and cut such a gallant figure that no less a person than one of the Rothschilds noticed him. The wealthy Jew asked the poor Albanian to quit Turkish service and be doorkeeper at the Rothschild palace. The salary offered was beyond Marko's wildest imagination. "I thought I should be a rich man," said he, "but the dog—yes, he was a dog—he told me his servants were clean-shaven and I must cut off my moustache. My moustache that I could tie behind my head! I said that not for all the gold of the Rothschilds would I cut it off." So Marko was never rich, and was never tired of telling of the insult.

So great is the respect for the moustache that the Catholic Church humours her Albanian flock, and bishops, abbots, and secular priests all wear the finest moustaches they can grow.

A [793] "If an Italian or Austrian comes here as a missionary," said a young Albanian Franciscan to me, roaring with laughter, "we shut him up till he's grown a decent moustache. It would be useless to send him to a mountain parish without one; they would hunt him out."

A 302 A great variety of head-shaves is found among both men and women of the Albanian mountains. The Catholic married women of Maltsia e Madhe shave the forehead and temples, and dye the hair black on marriage, and make their face look very large. A similar fashion is to be seen in many early Italian portraits of ladies. The Mirdite women and some of the allied groups wear a fringe over the forehead and do not dye the hair. The men of Maltsia e Madhe shave a great part of the head, and leave either one great lump on the top or two big side tufts; or they shave the back and leave the front. The temples are

A 292 usually shaved, even by Scutarenes, who wear European dress.

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Albania EG1

conference, it will be remembered, condemned both the Protestant Ecumenical Movement and the Vatican, "center of Fascism and of plots against the Slavic peoples." 795 653

The fact that the Primate, Archbishop Christopher Kissi, did not attend any of these assemblies was strongly indicative of a lack of appreciation for Communist conceptions of the role and functions of the Church. Indeed, it would have been strange if he had attended. The Orthodox Church, like all other religious bodies in Albania, had suffered from the Land Reform Law promulgated during August, 1945, which gave the Party the right to confiscate and nationalize property it has claimed elsewhere. By the close of 1948, Moslem and Orthodox ecclesiastics were completely dependent financially on the state. During the next year, the Archbishop was deposed and arrested. The government's published contention was that he "had worked against our interests and the interests of the people by collaborating with the Unitarian Church during the period of Fascist occupation." Two other prelates, Bishop Ireneo and Bishop Agathangjeli, were arrested. How many other members of the clergy have been taken into custody, deported to labor camps, or executed, no one knows. There is a report that Bishop Irenaeus Banushi was put to death during 1947. 793 661 [423]

However, the full fury of Hoxha's enmity fell upon the Roman Catholic Church. The Germans had withdrawn in November, 1944. A month later the government seized all printing establishments, and the Catholic press was abolished. At the same time a number of ecclesiastical offices were searched, and some members of the clergy were taken into custody. Religious youth organizations were banned, and only the Anti-fascist Youth Front, avowedly pro-Communist, was permitted to function. In February, 1945, the first "People's Court" to convene in Scutari sentenced one of the best known Al- 795 661 [883]

RITUAL LIFE

[124] 162 FORTY-TWO per cent of our series was recorded as Catholic, and the rest, except for one man,[1] as Moslem. These figures reflect the approximate proportions of the 2 faiths in Ghegnia. Their territorial distribution is shown on figure 3.[illegible] All of Mirdita, all of Dukagin, about half of Malsia e Madhe, most of Zadrima, and some *bairaks* of Mati, Puka, and Malsia e Jakovës are Catholic. Catholics occupy on the whole the least accessible areas, and those closest to Rome. Moslems occupy those nearest the direction of Istanbul, along the main roads, and in the vicinity of the larger towns.

795 793 While Islam is but 4 centuries old in Albania, Catholicism has been there at least 4 times as long. During the last 12 centuries many changes have taken place in the number and location of bishoprics and parishes, and in the number of communicants. At the time of our study, there was a bishop in Zadrima, to whom the parish priests of Mirdita reported; another took care of the territory north of the Drin. Some of the priests, like Father Krasnichi whom we visited in Mirdita, were native Albanians trained in Rome, others Austrians, Germans, or Italians. All were men of physical stamina and courage, for theirs was a difficult and rigorous assignment. Some were [792] Franciscans. In Zadrima, near the bishop's residence, was a nunnery with about a dozen inhabitants.

795 Many of the Moslems of northern Albania belong to an extremely heterodox brotherhood, that of the Bektashi. The tomb of the founder of the order lies in the inner recess of a long cave, really an ancient sandstone quarry, in the cliff outside the city of Cairo. His successor lives in a house at the entrance to the cave. The head of the order and all of his henchmen in residence are Albanians. The reason for this curious circumstance is that the Khedivial family of Egypt was originally Albanian, and they brought their spiritual chief, with the coffins

[1] Both parents came from Dibra. He was Greek Orthodox. how or why I could not discover.

[illegible] [See cat 116, p. 35c--Analyst]